

```

-----
name: <unnamed>
log: ADHF_CPS_replication_logfile.smcl
log type: smcl
opened on: 14 Apr 2023, 09:45:47

.
end of do-file

.do "/var/folders/td/gvdw5z5n5175y7w0qqzf_pw40000gn/T//SD01658.000000"

.use "ADHF_CPS_dataset.dta"

.
.version 17

.set more off

.
.// Install coefplot (help coefplot)
.// Install grstyle to replicate graph style (help grstyle)
.grstyle init

.grstyle set plain

.grstyle set ci

.
.*-----
> ---
.* Section: "Analysis"
.*-----
> ---
.*** Table 1: Average and conditional average treatment effects (OLS)***
.
.// Model 1: ATE
.reg y_add_5 i.treat_both

Source | SS df MS Number of obs = 1,793
-----+----- F(1, 1791) = 1.94
Model | 25.8417292 1 25.8417292 Prob > F = 0.1634
Residual | 23805.1443 1,791 13.2915379 R-squared = 0.0011
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0005
Total | 23830.9861 1,792 13.2985413 Root MSE = 3.6458

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err. t P>|t| [95% conf. interval]

```

```

-----+-----
1.treat_both | -.254634 .1826178 -1.39 0.163 -.6128004 .1035325
   _cons | 8.712375 .1490861 58.44 0.000 8.419974 9.004775
-----+-----

```

```
. est store M1
```

```
. // Model 2: CATE
```

```
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan
```

```

Source |   SS      df    MS  Number of obs = 1,765
-----+----- F(5, 1759) = 5.55
Model | 363.667165    5 72.733433 Prob > F = 0.0000
Residual | 23050.9243 1,759 13.1045619 R-squared = 0.0155
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0127
Total | 23414.5915 1,764 13.2735779 Root MSE = 3.62

```

```

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----

```

```

-----
1.treat_both | -.7729202 .3751893 -2.06 0.040 -1.508784
> -.0370563

```

```

1.inc_partisan | .9421123 .42601 2.21 0.027 .1065732
> 1.777651

```

```

|
treat_both#inc_partisan |
1 1 | .1645325 .523927 0.31 0.754 -.8630526
> 1.192118

```

```

|
1.no_partisan | -.3356506 .3690387 -0.91 0.363 -1.059451
> .3881499

```

```

|
treat_both#no_partisan |
1 1 | .9060064 .4533592 2.00 0.046 .0168269
> 1.795186

```

```

|
   _cons | 8.652482 .3048609 28.38 0.000 8.054554
> 9.25041
-----+-----

```

```
. est store M2
```

```

. // Model 3: CATE covariate adjusted
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan age
> women educated se_gw urb i.ethnicity

```

```

Source |      SS      df    MS    Number of obs = 1,744
-----+----- F(13, 1730) = 9.66
Model | 1571.10029    13 120.853869 Prob>F    = 0.0000
Residual | 21636.1698  1,730 12.5064565 R-squared  = 0.0677
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0607
Total | 23207.2701  1,743 13.3145554 Root MSE   = 3.5364

```

```

-----
-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
1.treat_both | -.8310344 .3703709 -2.24 0.025 -1.557456
> -.1046126
1.inc_partisan | .5137986 .4219273 1.22 0.223 -.3137426
> 1.34134
|
treat_both#inc_partisan |
1 1 | .2099941 .5160759 0.41 0.684 -.8022042
> 1.222193
|
1.no_partisan | -.5413854 .3648734 -1.48 0.138 -1.257025
> .174254
|
treat_both#no_partisan |
1 1 | .956434 .4478278 2.14 0.033 .0780931
> 1.834775
|
age | .0044655 .0080269 0.56 0.578 -.0112779
> .0202088
women | .03183 .1744297 0.18 0.855 -.3102853
> .3739454
educated | -.6043426 .185646 -3.26 0.001 -.9684568
> -.2402284
se_gw | .0090723 .0192159 0.47 0.637 -.0286165
> .0467611
urb | .2238367 .1830638 1.22 0.222 -.1352129
> .5828863
|
ethnicity |
Hausa | 1.629724 .2248036 7.25 0.000 1.188808

```

```

> 2.070639
      lgbo | -.1329482 .2616205 -0.51 0.611 -.646074
> .3801776
      Yoruba | .5592157 .2451283 2.28 0.023 .0784367
> 1.039995
      |
      _cons | 8.226778 .4804605 17.12 0.000 7.284433
> 9.169122

```

```

-----
-----
. est store M3
.

```

```

. // Model 3: Treatment effect for incumbent partisans (not in Table 1, but reported in article)
>

```

```

. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.opp_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan age
> women educated se_gw urb i.ethnicity

```

```

      Source |      SS      df    MS    Number of obs =   1,744
-----+-----+-----+----- F(13, 1730) =   9.66
      Model | 1571.10029     13 120.853869 Prob > F      = 0.0000
      Residual | 21636.1698   1,730 12.5064565 R-squared    = 0.0677
-----+-----+-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0607
      Total | 23207.2701   1,743 13.3145554 Root MSE    = 3.5364

```

```

-----
-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]

```

```

-----+-----+-----+-----
      1.treat_both | -.6210402 .3591267 -1.73 0.084 -1.325408
> .0833279
      1.opp_partisan | -.5137986 .4219273 -1.22 0.223 -1.34134
> .3137426
      |
      treat_both#opp_partisan |
      1 1 | -.2099941 .5160759 -0.41 0.684 -1.222193
> .8022042
      |
      1.no_partisan | -1.055184 .3584142 -2.94 0.003 -1.758155
> -.3522132
      |
      treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .7464398 .4380377 1.70 0.089 -.1126994
> 1.605579

```

```

      |
      age | .0044655 .0080269 0.56 0.578 -.0112779
> .0202088
      women | .03183 .1744297 0.18 0.855 -.3102853
> .3739454
      educated | -.6043426 .185646 -3.26 0.001 -.9684568
> -.2402284
      se_gw | .0090723 .0192159 0.47 0.637 -.0286165
> .0467611
      urb | .2238367 .1830638 1.22 0.222 -.1352129
> .5828863
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | 1.629724 .2248036 7.25 0.000 1.188808
> 2.070639
      Igbo | -.1329482 .2616205 -0.51 0.611 -.646074
> .3801776
      Yoruba | .5592157 .2451283 2.28 0.023 .0784367
> 1.039995
      |
      _cons | 8.740576 .4744645 18.42 0.000 7.809992
> 9.671161

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
. *-----
> ---

```

```

. *** Figure 1: Conditional average treatment effects ***
.

```

```

. // Treatment effect for incumbent supporter
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.opp_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan

```

```

      Source |      SS       df       MS    Number of obs =   1,765
-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----
      Model | 363.667165      5  72.733433    Prob > F      =   0.0000
      Residual | 23050.9243  1,759 13.1045619    R-squared     =   0.0155
-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----
                        Adj R-squared =   0.0127
      Total | 23414.5915  1,764 13.2735779    Root MSE     =   3.62

```

```

-----
-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----

```

```

      1.treat_both | -.6083877 .3656945 -1.66 0.096 -1.325629

```

```

> .1088539
      1.opp_partisan | -.9421123   .42601  -2.21  0.027  -1.777651
> -.1065732
      |
treat_both#opp_partisan |
      1 1 | -.1645325   .523927  -0.31  0.754  -1.192118
> .8630526
      |
      1.no_partisan | -1.277763   .363034  -3.52  0.000  -1.989786
> -.5657393
      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .7414739   .4455334   1.66  0.096  -.1323568
> 1.615305
      |
      _cons | 9.594595   .297564  32.24  0.000   9.010978
> 10.17821

```

```
-----
-----
. est store M2b
.
```

```

. // Treatment effect for non-partisan
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.opp_partisan i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan

```

```

      Source |      SS      df    MS    Number of obs =   1,765
-----+----- F(5, 1759) =   5.55
      Model | 363.667165     5  72.733433  Prob > F      =  0.0000
      Residual | 23050.9243  1,759 13.1045619  R-squared     =  0.0155
-----+----- Adj R-squared =  0.0127
      Total | 23414.5915  1,764 13.2735779  Root MSE     =  3.62

```

```

-----
-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----

```

```

      1.treat_both | .1330862 .2544947   0.52  0.601  -.3660577
> .6322301
      1.opp_partisan | .3356506 .3690387   0.91  0.363  -.3881499
> 1.059451
      |
treat_both#opp_partisan |
      1 1 | -.9060064 .4533592  -2.00  0.046  -1.795186
> -.0168269

```

```

      |
      1.inc_partisan | 1.277763 .363034 3.52 0.000 .5657393
> 1.989786
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | -.7414739 .4455334 -1.66 0.096 -1.615305
> .1323568
      |
      _cons | 8.316832 .2079649 39.99 0.000 7.908947
> 8.724716
-----
-----

. est store M2c

.
. // Coefficient plot
. coefplot (M2, keep(1.treat_both) mcolor(black) msymbol(C) ciopts(lcol(black))
> label(Opposition supporter)) ///
> (M2b, keep(1.treat_both) mcolor(black) msymbol(S) mcolor(gra
> y*1) mcolor(gray*1) ciopts(lcol(gray*1)) label(Incumbent supporter)) ///
> (M2c, keep(1.treat_both) mcolor(black) msymbol(T) mcolor(gra
> y*0.7) mcolor(gray*0.7) ciopts(lcol(gray*0.7)) label(No partisan affiliation
> )), ///
> levels(95) xline(0, lcolor(red%100) lpatt(dash)) xscale(rang
> e(-1.5(0.5)1.5)) xlabel(-1.5(0.5)1.5) ///
> xtitle("Conditional average treatment effects") title("") yl
> abel("")
(note: named style C not found in class symbol, default attributes used)

.
.
. *-----
> ---
. * Sections: "Robustness tests and alternative explanations" + "Supplementary
> appendix"
. *-----
> ---
. *** Table A1: Summary statistics ***
.
. sort treatment

. by treatment: sum y_add_5 age women se_gw urb i.ethnicity
-----
-> treatment = A:CTRL

```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
y_add_5	598	8.712375	3.683575	0	18
age	600	33.15833	11.86076	18	97
women	600	.4916667	.5003477	0	1
se_gw	593	6.489039	4.551911	0	18
urb	600	.56	.4968011	0	1

ethnicity					
Other	600	.3666667	.4822965	0	1
Hausa	600	.2616667	.4399088	0	1
Igbo	600	.1633333	.369978	0	1
Yoruba	600	.2083333	.4064553	0	1

-> treatment = B:TREAT 1

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
y_add_5	596	8.511745	3.575575	0	19
age	598	32.02341	10.81268	18	80
women	600	.515	.5001919	0	1
se_gw	593	6.305228	4.415068	0	18
urb	600	.56	.4968011	0	1

ethnicity					
Other	599	.3522538	.4780718	0	1
Hausa	599	.2704508	.4445639	0	1
Igbo	599	.1702838	.3761961	0	1
Yoruba	599	.2070117	.4055026	0	1

-> treatment = C:TREAT 2

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
y_add_5	599	8.404007	3.679063	0	18
age	599	32.40067	10.35715	18	73
women	600	.485	.5001919	0	1
se_gw	597	6.254606	4.418406	0	18
urb	600	.56	.4968011	0	1

ethnicity					
Other	600	.3316667	.4712048	0	1

Hausa	600	.2683333	.4434617	0	1
Igbo	600	.1816667	.3858913	0	1
Yoruba	600	.2183333	.4134596	0	1

-> treatment = D:TREAT 3

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
y_add_5	598	8.735786	3.597006	0	18
age	597	33.04858	10.90145	18	85
women	600	.5083333	.5003477	0	1
se_gw	597	6.519263	4.572868	0	20
urb	600	.56	.4968011	0	1
ethnicity					
Other	598	.3361204	.4727761	0	1
Hausa	598	.2792642	.4490132	0	1
Igbo	598	.1789298	.3836144	0	1
Yoruba	598	.2056856	.4045401	0	1

. tab ethnicity treatment

Ethnicity	Treatment (categorical)				Total
	A:CTRL	B:TREAT 1	C:TREAT 2	D:TREAT 3	
Other	220	211	199	201	831
Hausa	157	162	161	167	647
Igbo	98	102	109	107	416
Yoruba	125	124	131	123	503
Total	600	599	600	598	2,397

```

. *-----
> ---
. *** Figure A1: Distribution of item responses ***
.
. foreach x in y_add_5 item1_b item2_b item3_b item4_b item5_b {
.   2. hist `x', yscale(range(0,200,1000)) ylabel(0(200)1000) lcolor(gray
> *0.9) fcolor(gray*0.6) freq
.   3. }
(bin=33, start=0, width=.57575758)
(bin=33, start=0, width=.12121212)

```

(bin=33, start=0, width=.12121212)
(bin=33, start=0, width=.12121212)
(bin=33, start=0, width=.12121212)
(bin=33, start=0, width=.12121212)

```
.  
*-----  
> ---  
. *** Figure A2: Covariate balance ***  
.   
. mlogit      treatment age women se_gw urb  educated vio_poll lga_non_elec  
> tion_vio state_non_election_vio lga_election_vio state_election_vio i.ethnici  
> ty, base(1)
```

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -2041.4778  
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -2027.3091  
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -2027.2711  
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -2027.2711
```

```
Multinomial logistic regression      Number of obs = 1,473  
LR chi2(39) = 28.41  
Prob > chi2 = 0.8945  
Log likelihood = -2027.2711      Pseudo R2 = 0.0070
```

```
-----  
-----  
      treatment | Coefficient Std. err.   z   P>|z|   [95% conf.  
> interval]  
-----+-----  
-----  
A_CTRL          | (base outcome)  
-----+-----  
-----  
B_TREAT_1       |  
      age | -.0206234 .0070506 -2.93 0.003  -.0344424  
> -.0068044  
      women | .0426789 .1520358  0.28 0.779  -.2553057  
> .3406635  
      se_gw | -.0071042 .0167785 -0.42 0.672  -.0399894  
> .025781  
      urb | .091882 .1640792  0.56 0.575  -.2297072  
> .4134713  
      educated | .2572832 .1620691  1.59 0.112  -.0603664  
> .5749329  
      vio_poll | .1973624 .2125588  0.93 0.353  -.2192452  
> .61397  
      lga_non_election_vio | .0039738 .0185992  0.21 0.831  -.03248
```

```

> .0404276
state_non_election_vio | .0000289 .001637 0.02 0.986 -.0031795
> .0032373
lga_election_vio | .0342908 .0540545 0.63 0.526 -.0716541
> .1402356
state_election_vio | -.0007242 .0120446 -0.06 0.952 -.0243312
> .0228827
|
ethnicity |
Hausa | .3218749 .2080485 1.55 0.122 -.0858926
> .7296424
Igbo | .287906 .2511514 1.15 0.252 -.2043417
> .7801538
Yoruba | .230275 .220597 1.04 0.297 -.2020872
> .6626372
|
_cons | .2909815 .3631284 0.80 0.423 -.4207371
> 1.0027
-----+-----
-----
C_TREAT_2 |
age | -.0139968 .0067751 -2.07 0.039 -.0272757
> -.0007179
women | -.0614434 .1521936 -0.40 0.686 -.3597372
> .2368505
se_gw | -.0134056 .0168069 -0.80 0.425 -.0463465
> .0195352
urb | .0099252 .1633597 0.06 0.952 -.3102539
> .3301044
educated | .0906584 .162656 0.56 0.577 -.2281415
> .4094582
vio_poll | -.215352 .2279313 -0.94 0.345 -.6620891
> .231385
lga_non_election_vio | -.00182 .0187335 -0.10 0.923 -.038537
> .034897
state_non_election_vio | .0009132 .0016227 0.56 0.574 -.0022673
> .0040937
lga_election_vio | -.019715 .0576944 -0.34 0.733 -.132794
> .093364
state_election_vio | .0026724 .0119149 0.22 0.823 -.0206804
> .0260252
|
ethnicity |
Hausa | .1616964 .2081648 0.78 0.437 -.2462992
> .5696919
Igbo | .2184239 .2514933 0.87 0.385 -.2744939
> .7113417

```

```

      Yoruba | .1771108 .2190598  0.81 0.419  -.2522386
> .6064602
      |
      _cons | .3791304 .358018  1.06 0.290  -.3225719
> 1.080833
-----+-----
-----
D_TREAT_3 |
      age | -.0030172 .0066305  -0.46 0.649  -.0160128
> .0099783
      women | .0229164 .1535377  0.15 0.881  -.2780119
> .3238447
      se_gw | .0045897 .0168823  0.27 0.786  -.0284989
> .0376784
      urb | .1611181 .16595  0.97 0.332  -.164138
> .4863742
      educated | .1815018 .1640762  1.11 0.269  -.1400817
> .5030853
      vio_poll | -.2406446 .2308494  -1.04 0.297  -.6931012
> .211812
      lga_non_election_vio | .0010886 .0188083  0.06 0.954  -.035775
> .0379521
      state_non_election_vio | .0005598 .0016326  0.34 0.732  -.00264
> .0037596
      lga_election_vio | .0052965 .0566297  0.09 0.925  -.1056957
> .1162888
      state_election_vio | -.0014042 .0119943  -0.12 0.907  -.0249127
> .0221043
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | .166155 .2099069  0.79 0.429  -.245255
> .577565
      Igbo | .3703484 .2490369  1.49 0.137  -.1177549
> .8584517
      Yoruba | .1070844 .2235247  0.48 0.632  -.331016
> .5451848
      |
      _cons | -.2815915 .3629946  -0.78 0.438  -.9930478
> .4298648
-----
-----

```

```

.
. coefplot ///
> (, keep(*B_TREAT_1*:*)) drop(_cons) label(Control vs incumbent threat) msymbol
> (D) msize(vsmall) mcol(black) ciopts(lcolor(black))) ///
> (, keep(*C_TREAT_2*:*)) drop(_cons) label(Control vs opposition threat) msymbo

```

```

> l(S) msize(vsmall) mcol(gray*1) ciopts(lcolor(gray*1))) ///
> (, keep(*D_TREAT_3*:*)) drop(_cons) label(Control vs Boko Haram threat) msize(
> vsmall) mcol(gray*0.8) ciopts(lcolor(gray*0.8))), ///
> levels(95) xline(0, lcolor(red)) legend(rows(3) size(small)) ///
> generate headings(1.ethnicity="{bf:Ethnicity}")

```

Generated variables:

Variable name	Storage type	Display format	Value label	Variable label
__by	byte	%9.0g	__by	Subgraph ID
__plot	byte	%9.0g	__plot	Plot ID
__at	float	%9.0g		Plot positions (category axis)
__mlbl	str1	%9s		Marker labels
__mlpos	byte	%9.0g		Marker label positions
__b	float	%9.0g		Coefficients
__v	float	%9.0g		Variances
__se	float	%9.0g		Standard errors
__df	byte	%9.0g		Degrees of freedom
__ll1	float	%9.0g		CI1: lower limits
__ul1	float	%9.0g		CI1: upper limits

```
. drop __*
```

```
.
```

```
. *-----
```

```
> ---
```

```
. *** Table A3: Expected values for Y by partisanship and treatment ***
```

```
.
```

```
. // Bivariate model (Table 1, Model 2)
```

```
. est restore M2
```

```
(results M2 are active now)
```

```
. margins inc_partisan, at(treat_both=(0,1) no_partisan=(0))
```

Adjusted predictions

Number of obs = 1,765

Model VCE: OLS

Expression: Linear prediction, predict()

1. _at: treat_both = 0

no_partisan = 0

2. _at: treat_both = 1

no_partisan = 0

```
-----
```

```
---
```

| Delta-method

```

      |   Margin   std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf. interv
> al]
-----+-----
---
_at#inc_partisan |
      1 0 |   8.652482   .3048609   28.38   0.000   8.054554   9.25
> 041
      1 1 |   9.594595   .297564   32.24   0.000   9.010978   10.17
> 821
      2 0 |   7.879562   .2186935   36.03   0.000   7.450635   8.308
> 489
      2 1 |   8.986207   .212575   42.27   0.000   8.569281   9.403
> 133
-----

```

```

. margins, dydx(inc_partisan) at(treat_both=(0,1) no_partisan=(0))

```

```

Conditional marginal effects           Number of obs = 1,765
Model VCE: OLS

```

```

Expression: Linear prediction, predict()

```

```

dy/dx wrt: 1.inc_partisan

```

```

1. _at: treat_both = 0

```

```

    no_partisan = 0

```

```

2. _at: treat_both = 1

```

```

    no_partisan = 0

```

```

-----
--
      |   Delta-method
      |   dy/dx   std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf. interva
> l]
-----+-----

```

```

0.inc_partisan | (base outcome)
-----+-----

```

```

1.inc_partisan |

```

```

    _at |

```

```

      1 |   .9421123   .42601   2.21   0.027   .1065732   1.7776
> 51

```

```

      2 |   1.106645   .3049836   3.63   0.000   .5084763   1.7048
> 13
-----

```

```

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```

```

.
. // Covariate-adjusted model (Table 1, Model 3)
. est restore M3
(results M3 are active now)

. margins inc_partisan, at(treat_both=(0,1) no_partisan=(0))

```

```

Predictive margins                                Number of obs = 1,744
Model VCE: OLS

```

```

Expression: Linear prediction, predict()

```

```

1. _at: treat_both = 0
      no_partisan = 0
2. _at: treat_both = 1
      no_partisan = 0

```

```

-----
---
      |           Delta-method
      |   Margin  std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf. interv
> al]
-----+-----
---
_at#inc_partisan |
      1 0 |  8.878142  .3015594  29.44  0.000   8.286682  9.469
> 601
      1 1 |  9.39194   .2935555  31.99  0.000   8.816179  9.967
> 701
      2 0 |  8.047107  .2181738  36.88  0.000   7.619195  8.47
> 502
      2 1 |  8.7709   .2116155  41.45  0.000   8.355851  9.185
> 949
-----
---

```

```

. margins, dydx(inc_partisan) at(treat_both=(0,1) no_partisan=(0))

```

```

Average marginal effects                            Number of obs = 1,744
Model VCE: OLS

```

```

Expression: Linear prediction, predict()

```

```

dy/dx wrt: 1.inc_partisan

```

```

1. _at: treat_both = 0
      no_partisan = 0
2. _at: treat_both = 1
      no_partisan = 0

```

```

-----
--
      |      Delta-method
      |      dy/dx  std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf. interval]
> |]
-----+-----

```

```

--
0.inc_partisan | (base outcome)
-----+-----

```

```

--
1.inc_partisan |
   _at |
   1 | .5137986 .4219273  1.22 0.223  -.3137426  1.341
> 34
   2 | .7237927 .3048525  2.37 0.018  .1258745  1.3217
> 11
-----

```

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```

.
.
. *-----
> ---
. *** Table A4: Conditional average treatment (OLS) effect for non-partisans **
> *

```

```

. // Model 1
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.opp_partisan

```

```

      Source |      SS       df       MS      Number of obs = 1,765
-----+-----+-----+----- F(5, 1759) = 5.55
      Model | 363.667165      5  72.733433  Prob > F      = 0.0000
      Residual | 23050.9243  1,759 13.1045619  R-squared     = 0.0155
-----+-----+-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0127
      Total | 23414.5915  1,764 13.2735779  Root MSE     = 3.62

```

```

-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----

```

```

      1.treat_both | .1330862 .2544947  0.52 0.601  -.3660577
> .6322301
      1.inc_partisan | 1.277763 .363034  3.52 0.000  .5657393

```

```

> 1.989786
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | -.7414739 .4455334 -1.66 0.096 -1.615305
> .1323568
      |
      1.opp_partisan | .3356506 .3690387 0.91 0.363 -.3881499
> 1.059451
      |
treat_both#opp_partisan |
      1 1 | -.9060064 .4533592 -2.00 0.046 -1.795186
> -.0168269
      |
      _cons | 8.316832 .2079649 39.99 0.000 7.908947
> 8.724716
-----
-----
.
. //Model 2
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.opp_partisan age
> women se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated

      Source |      SS      df    MS    Number of obs = 1,744
-----+----- F(13, 1730) = 9.66
      Model | 1571.10029     13 120.853869 Prob > F      = 0.0000
      Residual | 21636.1698   1,730 12.5064565 R-squared    = 0.0677
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0607
      Total | 23207.2701   1,743 13.3145554 Root MSE    = 3.5364

-----
-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
      1.treat_both | .1253996 .2508001 0.50 0.617 -.3665038
> .617303
      1.inc_partisan | 1.055184 .3584142 2.94 0.003 .3522132
> 1.758155
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | -.7464398 .4380377 -1.70 0.089 -1.605579
> .1126994
      |
      1.opp_partisan | .5413854 .3648734 1.48 0.138 -.174254
> 1.257025

```

```

      |
treat_both#opp_partisan |
      1 1 | -.956434 .4478278 -2.14 0.033 -1.834775
> -.0780931
      |
      age | .0044655 .0080269 0.56 0.578 -.0112779
> .0202088
      women | .03183 .1744297 0.18 0.855 -.3102853
> .3739454
      se_gw | .0090723 .0192159 0.47 0.637 -.0286165
> .0467611
      urb | .2238367 .1830638 1.22 0.222 -.1352129
> .5828863
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | 1.629724 .2248036 7.25 0.000 1.188808
> 2.070639
      Igbo | -.1329482 .2616205 -0.51 0.611 -.646074
> .3801776
      Yoruba | .5592157 .2451283 2.28 0.023 .0784367
> 1.039995
      |
      educated | -.6043426 .185646 -3.26 0.001 -.9684568
> -.2402284
      _cons | 7.685393 .4245898 18.10 0.000 6.852629
> 8.518156

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
. *-----
> ---
. *** Table A5: Conditional average treatment effects (OLS) for sub-sample ***
.

```

```

. // Model 1-2: Incumbent supporters
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both if inc_partisan==1

```

```

      Source |      SS       df       MS    Number of obs =   438
-----+-----+-----+----- F(1, 436)    =   2.55
      Model | 36.2699077       1 36.2699077  Prob > F      =  0.1113
      Residual | 6211.6205     436 14.246836  R-squared     =  0.0058
-----+-----+-----+----- Adj R-squared =  0.0035
      Total | 6247.89041     437 14.2972321  Root MSE     =  3.7745

```

```

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----

```

```
1.treat_both | -.6083877 .3812997 -1.60 0.111 -1.357802 .1410262
   _cons | 9.594595 .3102618 30.92 0.000 8.9848 10.20439
```

```
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both age women se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated if inc_
> partisan==1
```

```
Source | SS df MS Number of obs = 436
-----+----- F(9, 426) = 2.39
Model | 300.200201 9 33.3555779 Prob > F = 0.0119
Residual | 5942.99934 426 13.9507027 R-squared = 0.0481
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0280
Total | 6243.19954 435 14.3521829 Root MSE = 3.7351
```

```
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err. t P>|t| [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----
1.treat_both | -.6067186 .3819017 -1.59 0.113 -1.357365 .1439277
age | .0179142 .0161794 1.11 0.269 -.0138871 .0497155
women | -.1201497 .3725108 -0.32 0.747 -.8523376 .6120381
se_gw | .0041827 .0393121 0.11 0.915 -.0730871 .0814526
urb | .6644995 .3903492 1.70 0.089 -.1027507 1.43175
|
ethnicity |
Hausa | 1.334158 .4408753 3.03 0.003 .4675964 2.20072
Igbo | .8422202 1.087756 0.77 0.439 -1.295817 2.980257
Yoruba | .5829694 .4889041 1.19 0.234 -.3779952 1.543934
|
educated | -.6461351 .4035442 -1.60 0.110 -1.439321 .1470504
_cons | 8.20244 .8384103 9.78 0.000 6.554504 9.850376
```

```
. // Model 3-4: Opposition supporters
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both if opp_partisan==1
```

```
Source | SS df MS Number of obs = 415
-----+----- F(1, 413) = 4.08
Model | 55.6148695 1 55.6148695 Prob > F = 0.0440
Residual | 5626.99718 413 13.6246905 R-squared = 0.0098
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0074
Total | 5682.61205 414 13.7261161 Root MSE = 3.6912
```

```
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err. t P>|t| [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----
1.treat_both | -.7729202 .3825626 -2.02 0.044 -1.524933 -.0209075
```

```
_cons | 8.652482 .3108521 27.83 0.000 8.041433 9.263532
```

```
-----  
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both age women se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated if opp  
> _partisan==1
```

```
Source | SS df MS Number of obs = 407  
-----+----- F(9, 397) = 3.01  
Model | 357.406259 9 39.7118065 Prob > F = 0.0017  
Residual | 5238.69202 397 13.1956978 R-squared = 0.0639  
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0426  
Total | 5596.09828 406 13.7834933 Root MSE = 3.6326
```

```
-----  
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err. t P>|t| [95% conf. interval]  
-----+-----  
1.treat_both | -.7973849 .3830467 -2.08 0.038 -1.550438 -.0443315  
age | -.0205902 .0167258 -1.23 0.219 -.0534724 .0122919  
women | .2549496 .3714431 0.69 0.493 -.4752917 .9851909  
se_gw | -.058824 .043118 -1.36 0.173 -.143592 .0259441  
urb | .4805587 .3870838 1.24 0.215 -.2804314 1.241549  
 |  
ethnicity |  
Hausa | 1.685335 .5004577 3.37 0.001 .7014566 2.669214  
Igbo | .2122635 .5117863 0.41 0.679 -.7938866 1.218414  
Yoruba | 1.277049 .5460058 2.34 0.020 .2036246 2.350473  
 |  
educated | -.3160418 .3804656 -0.83 0.407 -1.064021 .4319373  
_cons | 8.907574 .8476806 10.51 0.000 7.24107 10.57408  
-----
```

```
.  
. // Model 5-6: Non-partisans  
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both if no_partisan==1
```

```
Source | SS df MS Number of obs = 912  
-----+----- F(1, 910) = 0.29  
Model | 3.58369657 1 3.58369657 Prob > F = 0.5898  
Residual | 11212.3067 910 12.3212161 R-squared = 0.0003  
-----+----- Adj R-squared = -0.0008  
Total | 11215.8904 911 12.311625 Root MSE = 3.5102
```

```
-----  
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err. t P>|t| [95% conf. interval]  
-----+-----  
1.treat_both | .1330862 .2467711 0.54 0.590 -.3512203 .6173928  
_cons | 8.316832 .2016534 41.24 0.000 7.921072 8.712591
```

```
-----
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both age women se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated if no_
> partisan==1
```

```
Source | SS      df    MS    Number of obs =   901
-----+----- F(9, 891) =   8.13
Model | 842.810467    9 93.6456074 Prob > F   = 0.0000
Residual | 10257.0674   891 11.5118602 R-squared   = 0.0759
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0666
Total | 11099.8779   900 12.3331977 Root MSE   = 3.3929
```

```
-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t  P>|t|   [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----
1.treat_both | .1521153 .241027  0.63 0.528  -0.3209316 .6251622
age | .0068822 .0112705  0.61 0.542  -0.0152375 .0290019
women | .0373313 .2341662  0.16 0.873  -0.4222504 .4969129
se_gw | .0387417 .0257802  1.50 0.133  -0.0118553 .0893386
urb | -.1288288 .2452337 -0.53 0.599  -0.6101318 .3524742
|
ethnicity |
Hausa | 1.725149 .311999  5.53 0.000  1.11281 2.337487
Igbo | -.3562268 .3211887 -1.11 0.268  -0.9866013 .2741477
Yoruba | .2581928 .3345782  0.77 0.440  -0.3984603 .914846
|
educated | -.7501488 .2507479 -2.99 0.003  -1.242274 -.2580235
_cons | 7.728857 .5449721 14.18 0.000  6.659278 8.798435
-----
```

```
.
.*-----
> ---
. *** Table A6: Conditional average treatment effects (OLS) with PSU-level clus
> tered standard errors and fixed effects ***
.
. // Model 1: clustered SE
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan, vce
> (cluster psu)
```

```
Linear regression                Number of obs =   1,765
                                F(5, 299) =   5.43
                                Prob > F =   0.0001
                                R-squared =   0.0155
                                Root MSE =   3.62
```

(Std. err. adjusted for 300 cluste

> rs in psu)

```
-----  
-----  
          |          Robust  
y_add_5 | Coefficient std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.  
> interval]  
-----+-----  
-----  
      1.treat_both | -0.7729202  .3707375  -2.08  0.038  -1.502506  
> -0.0433349  
      1.inc_partisan |  .9421123  .4714519   2.00  0.047   .0143281  
> 1.869897  
          |  
treat_both#inc_partisan |  
      1 1 |  .1645325  .5339801   0.31  0.758  -0.8863028  
> 1.215368  
          |  
      1.no_partisan | -0.3356506  .4003449  -0.84  0.402  -1.123501  
>  .4522  
          |  
treat_both#no_partisan |  
      1 1 |  .9060064  .4454029   2.03  0.043   .0294848  
> 1.782528  
          |  
      _cons |  8.652482  .3463638  24.98  0.000   7.970863  
> 9.334102  
-----  
-----
```

```
.  
. // Model 3: clustered SE  
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan age  
> women educated se_gw urb i.ethnicity, vce(cluster psu)
```

```
Linear regression               Number of obs   =   1,744  
                               F(13, 299)     =    7.55  
                               Prob > F           =    0.0000  
                               R-squared           =    0.0677  
                               Root MSE        =    3.5364
```

(Std. err. adjusted for 300 cluste

> rs in psu)

```
-----  
-----  
          |          Robust  
y_add_5 | Coefficient std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.  
> interval]
```

```

-----+-----
-----
      1.treat_both | -.8310344  .36833  -2.26  0.025  -1.555882
> -.1061868
      1.inc_partisan | .5137986  .4608759  1.11  0.266  -.3931727
> 1.42077
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .2099941  .5263201  0.40  0.690  -.8257668
> 1.245755
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.5413854  .3866574  -1.40  0.162  -1.3023
> .2195292
      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .956434  .4385125  2.18  0.030  .0934721
> 1.819396
      |
      age | .0044655  .0081365  0.55  0.584  -.0115466
> .0204775
      women | .03183  .1914683  0.17  0.868  -.3449662
> .4086263
      educated | -.6043426  .1975978  -3.06  0.002  -.9932011
> -.2154841
      se_gw | .0090723  .0223599  0.41  0.685  -.0349305
> .0530751
      urb | .2238367  .2362098  0.95  0.344  -.2410076
> .688681
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | 1.629724  .2764955  5.89  0.000  1.0856
> 2.173847
      Igbo | -.1329482  .3287012  -0.40  0.686  -.779809
> .5139126
      Yoruba | .5592157  .3041009  1.84  0.067  -.0392335
> 1.157665
      |
      _cons | 8.226778  .5412428  15.20  0.000  7.16165
> 9.291906
-----
-----

```

```

.
. // Model 2: PSU FE
. xtset psu

```

Panel variable: psu (balanced)

```
. xtreg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan, fe
```

```
Fixed-effects (within) regression      Number of obs = 1,765  
Group variable: psu                    Number of groups = 300
```

```
R-squared:                               Obs per group:  
  Within = 0.0107                        min = 4  
  Between = 0.0291                       avg = 5.9  
  Overall = 0.0144                       max = 6
```

```
corr(u_i, Xb) = 0.0357                   F(5,1460) = 3.16  
                                           Prob > F = 0.0077
```

```
-----  
-----  
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.  
> interval]  
-----+-----  
-----  
      1.treat_both | -.6467226   .370986   -1.74  0.081   -1.374445  
> .0809999  
      1.inc_partisan | .6008344   .4391945    1.37  0.172   -.2606852  
> 1.462354  
      |  
treat_both#inc_partisan |  
      1 1 | .1743091   .5268761    0.33  0.741   -.8592058  
> 1.207824  
      |  
      1.no_partisan | -.4835944   .3810437   -1.27  0.205   -1.231046  
> .2638571  
      |  
treat_both#no_partisan |  
      1 1 | .6929946   .4545037    1.52  0.128   -.1985553  
> 1.584545  
      |  
      _cons | 8.80164   .3069478   28.67  0.000   8.199534  
> 9.403746  
-----+-----  
-----  
      sigma_u | 1.9554977  
      sigma_e | 3.3431499  
      rho | .25492083 (fraction of variance due to u_i)  
-----
```

```
-----  
F test that all u_i=0: F(299, 1460) = 2.01          Prob > F = 0.0000
```

```

. // Model 4: PSU FE
. xtreg y_add_5 i.treat_both###i.inc_partisan i.treat_both###i.no_partisan age wo
> men educated se_gw urb i.ethnicity, fe
note: urb omitted because of collinearity.

```

```

Fixed-effects (within) regression      Number of obs   =   1,744
Group variable: psu                   Number of groups =   300

```

```

R-squared:                            Obs per group:
  Within = 0.0181                      min =      3
  Between = 0.0615                    avg =     5.8
  Overall = 0.0297                    max =      6

```

```

                                F(12,1432)   =    2.20
corr(u_i, Xb) = 0.0535          Prob > F    =   0.0099

```

```

-----
-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
      1.treat_both | -.6443209 .3757828  -1.71  0.087  -1.381465
> .0928229
      1.inc_partisan | .5924782 .4428115   1.34  0.181  -.2761505
> 1.461107
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .1971248 .5316119   0.37  0.711  -.8456968
> 1.239946
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.4955023 .3860866  -1.28  0.200  -1.252858
> .2618537
      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .6852341 .461239   1.49  0.138  -.2195425
> 1.590011
      |
      age | .0093188 .0084581   1.10  0.271  -.0072728
> .0259104
      women | .035443 .1712625   0.21  0.836  -.3005093
> .3713953
      educated | -.5589605 .2059524  -2.71  0.007  -.9629612
> -.1549597
      se_gw | .0288323 .0243372   1.18  0.236  -.0189079
> .0765726

```

```

urb |      0 (omitted)
|
ethnicity |
Hausa | -.0087443 .4023463 -0.02 0.983 -.7979957
> .7805071
Igbo | -.1926174 .5279894 -0.36 0.715 -1.228333
> .8430982
Yoruba | -.2233225 .5256632 -0.42 0.671 -1.254475
> .8078299
|
_cons | 8.59182 .5116799 16.79 0.000 7.588097
> 9.595542

```

```

-----+-----
-----
sigma_u | 1.9324248
sigma_e | 3.343477
rho | .25040163 (fraction of variance due to u_i)
-----

```

F test that all u_i=0: F(299, 1432) = 1.69 Prob > F = 0.0000

```

.
. *-----
> ---
. *** Table A7: Conditional average treatment effects (OLS) excluding item / it
> em 3 + item 5 ***
.
. // Model 1: Without item 3, bivariate
. reg y_add_noitem3 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisa
> n

```

```

Source |   SS      df    MS    Number of obs = 1,766
-----+----- F(5, 1760) = 6.78
Model | 482.904332    5 96.5808665 Prob > F = 0.0000
Residual | 25058.154 1,760 14.2375875 R-squared = 0.0189
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0161
Total | 25541.0583 1,765 14.4708546 Root MSE = 3.7733

```

```

-----
y_add_noitem3 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
1.treat_both | -.7507636 .3910726 -1.92 0.055 -1.517779
> .0162522
1.inc_partisan | 1.284598 .4440447 2.89 0.004 .4136878

```

```

> 2.155509
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | -.0865617 .546107 -0.16 0.874 -1.157648
> .9845249
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.2430307 .3846616 -0.63 0.528 -.9974724
> .511411
      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .8726107 .4725112 1.85 0.065 -.0541316
> 1.799353
      |
      _cons | 6.411348 .3177669 20.18 0.000 5.788107
> 7.034588
-----
-----
.
. // Model 2 Without item 3, covariate adjutsed
. reg y_add_noitem3 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan ag
> e women se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated

      Source |      SS       df       MS    Number of obs = 1,745
-----+----- F(13, 1731) = 11.88
      Model | 2073.4468      13 159.495907 Prob > F      = 0.0000
      Residual | 23235.7165  1,731 13.4232909 R-squared    = 0.0819
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0750
      Total | 25309.1633  1,744 14.5121349 Root MSE    = 3.6638

-----
-----
      y_add_noitem3 | Coefficient Std. err.   t  P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
      1.treat_both | -.828835 .3837048 -2.16 0.031 -1.581409
> -.0762613
      1.inc_partisan | .7742615 .4371156 1.77 0.077 -.0830688
> 1.631592
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | -.0225437 .5346574 -0.04 0.966 -1.071186
> 1.026099
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.5050943 .3780111 -1.34 0.182 -1.246501
> .2363121

```

```

      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .9403008 .4639345 2.03 0.043 .0303697
> 1.850232
      |
      age | .00465 .0083159 0.56 0.576 -.0116602
> .0209602
      women | .2262063 .1806829 1.25 0.211 -.1281735
> .5805861
      se_gw | .0268217 .0199047 1.35 0.178 -.012218
> .0658614
      urb | .1333227 .1895871 0.70 0.482 -.2385213
> .5051667
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | 1.86205 .232896 8.00 0.000 1.405263
> 2.318837
      Igbo | -.3243873 .2706971 -1.20 0.231 -.855315
> .2065405
      Yoruba | .5282836 .2539502 2.08 0.038 .0302022
> 1.026365
      |
      educated | -.5892072 .1923145 -3.06 0.002 -.9664004
> -.212014
      _cons | 5.84765 .4976897 11.75 0.000 4.871513
> 6.823786

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
. // Model 3: Without item 3 + item 5, bivariate
. reg y_add_noitem3_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_parti
> san

```

```

      Source |      SS      df      MS      Number of obs = 1,770
-----+----- F(5, 1764) = 5.95
      Model | 296.237285      5 59.2474571 Prob > F      = 0.0000
      Residual | 17576.2576 1,764 9.96386487 R-squared      = 0.0166
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0138
      Total | 17872.4949 1,769 10.1031628 Root MSE      = 3.1566

```

```

-----
-----
      y_add_noitem3_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]

```

```

-----+-----
-----

```

```

      1.treat_both | -.693586 .3271547 -2.12 0.034 -1.335238
> -.0519343
      1.inc_partisan | .8286525 .3702587 2.24 0.025 .1024606
> 1.554844
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .2650802 .4558663 0.58 0.561 -.6290148
> 1.159175
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.1803244 .3217915 -0.56 0.575 -.8114572
> .4508083
      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .7566805 .3952152 1.91 0.056 -.0184589
> 1.53182
      |
      _cons | 4.744681 .2658302 17.85 0.000 4.223305
> 5.266056

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
. // Model 4: Without item 3 + item 5, covariate adjusted
. reg y_add_noitem3_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_parti
> san age women se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated

```

```

      Source |      SS       df       MS    Number of obs =   1,749
-----+-----
      Model | 1371.20904     13 105.477618    Prob > F      =   0.0000
      Residual | 16366.9087  1,735  9.4333768    R-squared     =   0.0773
-----+-----
                        Adj R-squared =   0.0704
      Total | 17738.1178  1,748 10.1476646    Root MSE     =   3.0714

```

```

-----
-----
      y_add_noitem3_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----

```

```

      1.treat_both | -.7639854 .3216608 -2.38 0.018 -1.394869
> -.1331017
      1.inc_partisan | .3937265 .3652423 1.08 0.281 -.322635
> 1.110088
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .3193653 .4471821 0.71 0.475 -.5577074
> 1.196438

```

```

      |
1.no_partisan | -.4100759 .3168882 -1.29 0.196 -1.031599
> .2114471
      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .8267175 .3888701 2.13 0.034 .064014
> 1.589421
      |
age | .008876 .0069352 1.28 0.201 -.0047263
> .0224783
women | .2047418 .1513004 1.35 0.176 -.0920086
> .5014922
se_gw | .0285326 .0166781 1.71 0.087 -.0041787
> .0612439
urb | .1479711 .158823 0.93 0.352 -.1635335
> .4594758
      |
ethnicity |
Hausa | 1.502571 .1950375 7.70 0.000 1.120037
> 1.885104
Igbo | -.2585113 .2266479 -1.14 0.254 -.7030431
> .1860206
Yoruba | .4167145 .2127171 1.96 0.050 -.0004943
> .8339233
      |
educated | -.4827302 .1611153 -3.00 0.003 -.7987308
> -.1667295
_cons | 4.06839 .41645 9.77 0.000 3.251593
> 4.885187

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
.*-----
> ---
.*** Table A8: Factor analysis of outcome items included in the additive index
> and cronbach's alpha testscale ***
.
.alpha item1_b item2_b item3_b item4_b item5_b, item

```

Test scale = mean(unstandardized items)

Item	Average					alpha
	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	interitem covariance	
item1_b	2400	+	0.6750	0.4138	.4206557	0.5173

item2_b		2399	+	0.6847	0.4511	.4112285	0.4981
item3_b		2399	-	0.5825	0.2990	.5203526	0.5798
item4_b		2397	+	0.5940	0.3363	.5048169	0.5592
item5_b		2396	+	0.5708	0.2944	.5298312	0.5805

-----+-----
 Test scale | .4773882 0.6029

. factor item1_b item2_b item3_b item4_b item5_b
 (obs=2,391)

Factor analysis/correlation Number of obs = 2,391
 Method: principal factors Retained factors = 1
 Rotation: (unrotated) Number of params = 5

Factor		Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1		1.10980	1.11425	1.5436	1.5436
Factor2		-0.00445	0.06402	-0.0062	1.5374
Factor3		-0.06847	0.06371	-0.0952	1.4421
Factor4		-0.13218	0.05353	-0.1838	1.2583
Factor5		-0.18571	.	-0.2583	1.0000

 LR test: independent vs. saturated: chi2(10) = 1087.11 Prob>chi2 = 0.0000

Factor loadings (pattern matrix) and unique variances

Variable		Factor1		Uniqueness
item1_b		0.5393		0.7091
item2_b		0.5763		0.6679
item3_b		-0.3819		0.8542
item4_b		0.4444		0.8025
item5_b		0.3788		0.8565

. rotate

Factor analysis/correlation Number of obs = 2,391
 Method: principal factors Retained factors = 1
 Rotation: orthogonal varimax (Kaiser off) Number of params = 5

Factor		Variance	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative

Factor1 | 1.10980 . 1.5436 1.5436

 LR test: independent vs. saturated: chi2(10) = 1087.11 Prob>chi2 = 0.0000

Rotated factor loadings (pattern matrix) and unique variances

```
-----
Variable | Factor1 | Uniqueness
-----+-----+-----
item1_b | 0.5393 | 0.7091
item2_b | 0.5763 | 0.6679
item3_b | -0.3819 | 0.8542
item4_b | 0.4444 | 0.8025
item5_b | 0.3788 | 0.8565
-----
```

Factor rotation matrix

```
-----
| Factor1
-----+-----
Factor1 | 1.0000
-----
```

```
.
*-----
> ---
. *** Table A9: Conditional average treatment effects (OLS) with additional cov
> ariates (controlling for election violence) ***
```

```
.
. // Model 1: witnessed violence at polling station
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan age
> women se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated vio_poll
```

```
Source | SS df MS Number of obs = 1,105
-----+-----+----- F(14, 1090) = 6.49
Model | 1164.72043 14 83.1943162 Prob > F = 0.0000
Residual | 13964.2877 1,090 12.8112731 R-squared = 0.0770
-----+-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0651
Total | 15129.0081 1,104 13.7038117 Root MSE = 3.5793
```

```
-----
-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err. t P>|t| [95% conf.
> interval]
```

```
-----+-----+-----
-----
```

```

    1.treat_both | -.8680233 .4162495 -2.09 0.037 -1.684764
> -.0512825
    1.inc_partisan | .409753 .4796149 0.85 0.393 -.5313199
> 1.350826
    |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
    1 1 | .3920967 .584801 0.67 0.503 -.7553663
> 1.53956
    |
    1.no_partisan | -.3438225 .4463642 -0.77 0.441 -1.219653
> .5320077
    |
treat_both#no_partisan |
    1 1 | 1.062813 .5548631 1.92 0.056 -.0259077
> 2.151534
    |
    age | .0110043 .0101718 1.08 0.280 -.0089542
> .0309629
    women | .3978103 .2237618 1.78 0.076 -.0412422
> .8368629
    se_gw | -.0270303 .0244792 -1.10 0.270 -.075062
> .0210014
    urb | .2244183 .2332939 0.96 0.336 -.2333377
> .6821743
    |
    ethnicity |
    Hausa | 1.594878 .2792454 5.71 0.000 1.046958
> 2.142797
    Igbo | -.6951107 .3606069 -1.93 0.054 -1.402673
> .0124515
    Yoruba | .4748043 .31145 1.52 0.128 -.1363051
> 1.085914
    |
    educated | -.4345986 .237399 -1.83 0.067 -.9004093
> .0312122
    vio_poll | .0618019 .319247 0.19 0.847 -.5646062
> .6882101
    _cons | 8.059331 .5884819 13.70 0.000 6.904646
> 9.214017
-----
-----
.
. // Model 2: Election violence events at LGA
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan age
> women se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated lga_election_vio

```

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs =	1,744
				F(14, 1729) =	9.10
Model	1592.1858	14	113.727557	Prob > F =	0.0000
Residual	21615.0843	1,729	12.5014947	R-squared =	0.0686
				Adj R-squared =	0.0611
Total	23207.2701	1,743	13.3145554	Root MSE =	3.5357

```

-----
-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err. t P>|t| [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
1.treat_both | -.8345354 .3703072 -2.25 0.024 -1.560833
> -.1082382
1.inc_partisan | .503667 .4219157 1.19 0.233 -.3238518
> 1.331186
|
treat_both#inc_partisan |
1 1 | .2108786 .515974 0.41 0.683 -.8011203
> 1.222877
|
1.no_partisan | -.5427599 .3648025 -1.49 0.137 -1.25826
> .1727408
|
treat_both#no_partisan |
1 1 | .9643918 .4477809 2.15 0.031 .0861426
> 1.842641
|
age | .0043518 .0080257 0.54 0.588 -.0113894
> .0200929
women | .0375261 .1744503 0.22 0.830 -.3046297
> .3796818
se_gw | .0097204 .0192185 0.51 0.613 -.0279737
> .0474144
urb | .1731047 .1871497 0.92 0.355 -.1939589
> .5401683
|
ethnicity |
Hausa | 1.595325 .2263143 7.05 0.000 1.151446
> 2.039204
Igbo | -.1640148 .2626602 -0.62 0.532 -.6791799
> .3511503
Yoruba | .5490672 .2452042 2.24 0.025 .0681391
> 1.029995
|
educated | -.5850749 .1862011 -3.14 0.002 -.950278

```

```

> -.2198717
   lga_election_vio | -.0676623 .0520998 -1.30 0.194 -.1698476
> .0345229
   _cons | 8.308898 .484509 17.15 0.000 7.358612
> 9.259183
-----
-----
.
. // Model 3: Election violence events at state
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan age
> women se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated state_election_vio

Source |      SS      df    MS    Number of obs =   1,744
-----+----- F(14, 1729) =   11.97
Model | 2050.29215    14 146.449439 Prob > F    =   0.0000
Residual | 21156.9779   1,729 12.2365401 R-squared   =   0.0883
-----+----- Adj R-squared =   0.0810
Total | 23207.2701   1,743 13.3145554 Root MSE    =   3.4981

-----
-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
      1.treat_both | -.8275707 .3663528 -2.26 0.024 -1.546112
> -.1090295
      1.inc_partisan | .4207144 .4176144  1.01 0.314 -.3983681
> 1.239797
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .1901314 .5104864  0.37 0.710 -.8111044
> 1.191367
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.48179 .3610401 -1.33 0.182 -1.189911
> .2263313
      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .9709367 .442975  2.19 0.029 .1021136
> 1.83976
      |
      age | .0062246 .0079447  0.78 0.433 -.0093577
> .0218069
      women | .0194566 .1725485  0.11 0.910 -.3189692
> .3578824
      se_gw | .0143222 .0190259  0.75 0.452 -.022994

```

```

> .0516384
      urb | .193105 .1811441  1.07 0.287  -.1621797
> .5483897
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | 1.075423 .2393571  4.49 0.000  .6059635
> 1.544883
      Igbo | -.3638242 .2613986  -1.39 0.164  -.876515
> .1488666
      Yoruba | .5514438 .2424719  2.27 0.023  .0758748
> 1.027013
      |
      educated | -.4776331 .1847447  -2.59 0.010  -.8399797
> -.1152865
      state_election_vio | -.0729949 .0116645  -6.26 0.000  -.0958729
> -.0501168
      _cons | 8.947869 .4890175  18.30 0.000  7.988741
> 9.906997

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
. *-----
> ---
. *** Table A10: Average and conditional average treatment effects (OLS), subn
> ational partisanship dynamics ***
.

```

```

. // Model 1
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both

```

```

      Source |      SS       df       MS    Number of obs =   1,793
-----+----- F(1, 1791) =   1.94
      Model | 25.8417292      1 25.8417292  Prob > F      = 0.1634
      Residual | 23805.1443  1,791 13.2915379  R-squared     = 0.0011
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0005
      Total | 23830.9861  1,792 13.2985413  Root MSE     = 3.6458

```

```

-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t  P>|t|   [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----
1.treat_both | -.254634   .1826178  -1.39 0.163  -.6128004  .1035325
      _cons | 8.712375   .1490861  58.44 0.000   8.419974  9.004775
-----

```

```

.
. // Model 2
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.centralstate

```

```

Source |   SS      df    MS    Number of obs = 1,765
-----+----- F(9, 1755) = 3.36
Model | 396.885797    9 44.0984219 Prob > F    = 0.0004
Residual | 23017.7057  1,755 13.1155018 R-squared   = 0.0170
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0119
Total | 23414.5915  1,764 13.2735779 Root MSE    = 3.6215

```

```

-----
-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
1.treat_both | -.5763052 .5038674 -1.14 0.253 -1.564549
> .4119384
      |
      centralstate |
      Opp./Inc. | -.030303 .6112226 -0.05 0.960 -1.229104
> 1.168498
      Inc./Opp. | .5128205 .7149603 0.72 0.473 -.8894431
> 1.915084
      Double incumbent | 1.076453 .5433222 1.98 0.048 .0108256
> 2.14208
      No-partisan | -.349835 .4670748 -0.75 0.454 -1.265916
> .5662465
      |
      treat_both#centralstate |
      1#Opp./Inc. | -.5045029 .7576556 -0.67 0.506 -1.990505
> .9814996
      1#Inc./Opp. | .1226245 .8953869 0.14 0.891 -1.633513
> 1.878762
      1#Double incumbent | -.1097965 .6570633 -0.17 0.867 -1.398506
> 1.178913
      1#No-partisan | .7093914 .5645388 1.26 0.209 -.3978478
> 1.816631
      |
      _cons | 8.666667 .4181786 20.72 0.000 7.846486
> 9.486847

```

```

.
. // Model 3
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.centralstate age women se_gw urb i.ethnicity
> educated

```

```

Source |   SS      df   MS   Number of obs = 1,744
-----+-----
Model | 1580.00686    17  92.94158 Prob > F   = 0.0000
Residual | 21627.2632  1,726  12.53028 R-squared  = 0.0681
-----+-----
Total | 23207.2701  1,743  13.3145554 Root MSE   = 3.5398

```

```

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
1.treat_both | -.6494021 .4938288  -1.32  0.189  -1.617968
> .3191638
|
centralstate |
Opp./Inc. | .1529791 .6060019   0.25  0.801  -1.035596
> 1.341555
Inc./Opp. | .6922915 .7057683   0.98  0.327  -.6919597
> 2.076543
Double incumbent | .5440121 .5346458   1.02  0.309  -.5046098
> 1.592634
No-partisan | -.4730947 .4578326  -1.03  0.302  -1.37106
> .4248704
|
treat_both#centralstate |
1#Opp./Inc. | -.4428552 .7509829  -0.59  0.555  -1.915788
> 1.030077
1#Inc./Opp. | .0868156 .8827345   0.10  0.922  -1.644526
> 1.818158
1#Double incumbent | .0210724 .6445858   0.03  0.974  -1.243179
> 1.285324
1#No-partisan | .7749173 .5546214   1.40  0.163  -.3128834
> 1.862718
|
age | .0043571 .008067   0.54  0.589  -.011465
> .0201793
women | .0313262 .1747383   0.18  0.858  -.3113949
> .3740472
se_gw | .0092298 .0192371   0.48  0.631  -.0285006
> .0469603
urb | .2206259 .183595   1.20  0.230  -.1394662
> .580718
|
ethnicity |
Hausa | 1.637983 .2268751   7.22  0.000   1.193004

```

```

> 2.082962
      Igbo | -.1279094 .2623505 -0.49 0.626 -.6424678
> .386649
      Yoruba | .5689618 .2461904 2.31 0.021 .0860988
> 1.051825
      |
      educated | -.610161 .1864368 -3.27 0.001 -.9758268
> -.2444953
      _cons | 8.159577 .5445349 14.98 0.000 7.091559
> 9.227595
-----
-----
.
. *-----
> ---
. *** Table A11: Average and conditional average treatment effects by threat (O
> LS) ***
.
. // Model 1-3: Incumbent-party threat
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_inc

      Source |      SS      df      MS      Number of obs = 1,194
-----+----- F(1, 1192) = 0.91
      Model | 12.0152607      1 12.0152607 Prob > F      = 0.3398
      Residual | 15707.4462  1,192 13.1773878 R-squared      = 0.0008
-----+----- Adj R-squared = -0.0001
      Total | 15719.4615  1,193 13.1764136 Root MSE      = 3.6301

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t P>|t| [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----
1.treat_inc | -.2006296 .2101082 -0.95 0.340  -.6128528 .2115936
   _cons | 8.712375 .1484445 58.69 0.000  8.421133  9.003616
-----
.
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_inc##i.inc_partisan i.treat_inc##i.no_partisan

      Source |      SS      df      MS      Number of obs = 1,175
-----+----- F(5, 1169) = 3.87
      Model | 251.178972      5 50.2357943 Prob > F      = 0.0018
      Residual | 15179.4134  1,169 12.9849558 R-squared      = 0.0163
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0121
      Total | 15430.5923  1,174 13.1436051 Root MSE      = 3.6035
-----

```

```

-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
      1.treat_inc | -.7333646 .4330929  -1.69  0.091  -1.583091
> .1163617
      1.inc_partisan | .9421123 .4240614   2.22  0.026   .1101058
> 1.774119
      |
treat_inc#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .061847 .6050699   0.10  0.919  -1.125297
> 1.248991
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.3356506 .3673507  -0.91  0.361  -1.056391
> .3850898
      |
treat_inc#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .9329803 .5226259   1.79  0.074  -.0924093
> 1.95837
      |
      _cons | 8.652482 .3034664  28.51  0.000   8.057083
> 9.247882
-----

```

```

. reg y_add_5 i.treat_inc###i.inc_partisan i.treat_inc###i.no_partisan age wo
> men se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated

```

```

Source |   SS      df    MS  Number of obs =  1,157
-----+----- F(13, 1143) =  7.65
Model | 1223.29847    13  94.0998823  Prob > F    =  0.0000
Residual | 14068.4215  1,143 12.3083303  R-squared   =  0.0800
-----+----- Adj R-squared =  0.0695
Total | 15291.72   1,156 13.2281315  Root MSE   =  3.5083

```

```

-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
      1.treat_inc | -.7986804 .4285623  -1.86  0.063  -1.639538
> .0421767
      1.inc_partisan | .4995487 .4203374   1.19  0.235  -.3251707
> 1.324268

```

```

      |
treat_inc#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .187033 .5964046 0.31 0.754 -.9831377
> 1.357204
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.5864974 .3628252 -1.62 0.106 -1.298376
> .1253807
      |
treat_inc#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .9538271 .5169128 1.85 0.065 -.0603773
> 1.968032
      |
      age | -.0056341 .0095928 -0.59 0.557 -.0244557
> .0131874
      women | -.0241379 .2120039 -0.11 0.909 -.4400983
> .3918225
      se_gw | .0106897 .0232735 0.46 0.646 -.0349738
> .0563533
      urb | .1260948 .2237554 0.56 0.573 -.3129226
> .5651123
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | 1.88377 .2749337 6.85 0.000 1.344338
> 2.423201
      Igbo | .1254083 .3199514 0.39 0.695 -.5023496
> .7531662
      Yoruba | .5684209 .3007742 1.89 0.059 -.0217107
> 1.158552
      |
      educated | -.6547752 .2265867 -2.89 0.004 -1.099348
> -.2102027
      _cons | 8.564668 .5362615 15.97 0.000 7.512501
> 9.616836

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
.
. // Model 4-6: Opposition-party threat
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_opp

```

```

      Source |      SS       df       MS    Number of obs =   1,197
-----+----- F(1, 1195) =   2.10
      Model | 28.4558914       1 28.4558914  Prob > F      =  0.1476
      Residual | 16194.7588  1,195 13.5520994  R-squared     =  0.0018
-----+----- Adj R-squared =  0.0009
      Total | 16223.2147  1,196 13.5645608  Root MSE     =  3.6813

```

```

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----
1.treat_opp | -.3083679 .2128072  -1.45  0.148  -0.7258853  .1091495
   _cons |  8.712375 .1505403  57.87  0.000   8.417022  9.007727
-----

```

```

. reg y_add_5 i.treat_opp##i.inc_partisan i.treat_opp##i.no_partisan

```

```

Source |   SS      df    MS    Number of obs =   1,182
-----+----- F(5, 1176) =   4.39
Model | 293.302418     5 58.6604837 Prob > F   =  0.0006
Residual | 15704.5089  1,176 13.3541743 R-squared   =  0.0183
-----+----- Adj R-squared =  0.0142
Total | 15997.8113  1,181 13.5459876 Root MSE   =  3.6543

```

```

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
1.treat_opp | -.8119026 .4375841  -1.86  0.064  -1.670435
> .0466301
1.inc_partisan | .9421123 .4300481   2.19  0.029   .0983652
> 1.785859
      |
treat_opp#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .264927 .6103732   0.43  0.664  -0.932615
> 1.462469
      |
1.no_partisan | -.3356506 .3725368  -0.90  0.368  -1.066561
> .3952603
      |
treat_opp#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .8786774 .5285236   1.66  0.097  -0.158277
> 1.915632
      |
   _cons |  8.652482 .3077506  28.12  0.000   8.048681
> 9.256284
-----

```

```

. reg y_add_5 i.treat_opp##i.inc_partisan i.treat_opp##i.no_partisan age wo

```

> men se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated

```
Source |    SS      df    MS    Number of obs = 1,172
-----+----- F(13, 1158) = 6.94
Model | 1147.09096    13 88.2377662 Prob > F    = 0.0000
Residual | 14723.1505  1,158 12.7142923 R-squared    = 0.0723
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0619
Total | 15870.2415  1,171 13.5527254 Root MSE    = 3.5657
```

```
-----
-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
```

```
-----+-----
-----
1.treat_opp | -0.8834733 0.4304184 -2.05 0.040 -1.727961
> -0.038986
1.inc_partisan | 0.5029386 0.4271771 1.18 0.239 -0.3351891
> 1.341066
|
treat_opp#inc_partisan |
1 1 | 0.2509573 0.5994574 0.42 0.676 -0.9251869
> 1.427101
|
1.no_partisan | -0.5203678 0.3687869 -1.41 0.159 -1.243933
> 0.2031975
|
treat_opp#no_partisan |
1 1 | 0.9735762 0.5206506 1.87 0.062 -0.0479479
> 1.9951
|
age | 0.0108741 0.0097743 1.11 0.266 -0.0083032
> 0.0300514
women | -0.04865 0.2155327 -0.23 0.821 -0.4715284
> 0.3742284
se_gw | 0.0034769 0.0236154 0.15 0.883 -0.0428568
> 0.0498107
urb | 0.4102186 0.2247657 1.83 0.068 -0.0307751
> 0.8512123
|
ethnicity |
Hausa | 1.49503 0.2766347 5.40 0.000 0.9522687
> 2.037791
Igbo | -0.2347223 0.3195636 -0.73 0.463 -0.8617108
> 0.3922662
Yoruba | 0.7263148 0.3003134 2.42 0.016 0.1370954
> 1.315534
```

```

      |
educated | -.7145739 .2297882 -3.11 0.002 -1.165422
> -.263726
      |
_cons | 8.037049 .5477442 14.67 0.000 6.962367
> 9.111731

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
.
. // Model 7-9: Boko Haram threat
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_bh

```

```

Source |   SS      df   MS   Number of obs = 1,196
-----+----- F(1, 1194) = 0.01
Model | .163879599    1 .163879599 Prob > F   = 0.9115
Residual | 15824.7826  1,194 13.2535868 R-squared   = 0.0000
-----+----- Adj R-squared = -0.0008
Total | 15824.9465  1,195 13.242633 Root MSE   = 3.6405

```

```

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t  P>|t|   [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----
1.treat_bh | .0234114 .2105383  0.11 0.911  -.3896548 .4364776
_cons | 8.712375 .1488731 58.52 0.000  8.420293 9.004457
-----

```

```

.
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_bh##i.inc_partisan i.treat_bh##i.no_partisan

```

```

Source |   SS      df   MS   Number of obs = 1,184
-----+----- F(5, 1178) = 5.49
Model | 353.558595    5 70.7117189 Prob > F   = 0.0001
Residual | 15168.3798  1,178 12.8763835 R-squared   = 0.0228
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0186
Total | 15521.9383  1,183 13.120827 Root MSE   = 3.5884

```

```

-----
-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t  P>|t|   [95% conf. i
> nterval]
-----+-----

```

```

1.treat_bh | -.5024823 .4281309 -1.17 0.241 -1.342466
> .3375019
1.inc_partisan | .9421123 .4222848 2.23 0.026 .113598
> 1.770627

```

```

      |
treat_bh#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .7044978 .6159712 1.14 0.253 -.5040252
> 1.913021
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.3356506 .3658117 -0.92 0.359 -1.053366
> .3820645
      |
treat_bh#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .7485248 .5141443 1.46 0.146 -.260216
> 1.757266
      |
      _cons | 8.652482 .3021951 28.63 0.000 8.059582
> 9.245383

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

. reg y_add_5 i.treat_bh##i.inc_partisan i.treat_bh##i.no_partisan age wome
> n se_gw urb i.ethnicity educated

```

```

      Source |      SS       df       MS    Number of obs =   1,168
-----+-----+-----+----- F(13, 1154) =   7.07
      Model | 1128.40689     13  86.8005301  Prob > F      =  0.0000
      Residual | 14174.7155   1,154 12.2831157  R-squared     =  0.0737
-----+-----+-----+----- Adj R-squared =  0.0633
      Total | 15303.1224   1,167 13.1132155  Root MSE     =  3.5047

```

```

-----
-----
      y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t  P>|t|   [95% conf. i
> nterval]
-----+-----+-----+-----

```

```

      1.treat_bh | -.505933 .4234566 -1.19 0.232 -1.336764
> .3248981
      1.inc_partisan | .5694849 .4198431 1.36 0.175 -.2542564
> 1.393226

```

```

      |
treat_bh#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .6388939 .6071263 1.05 0.293 -.5523011
> 1.830089

```

```

      |
      1.no_partisan | -.5631716 .362382 -1.55 0.120 -1.274173
> .1478298

```

```

      |
treat_bh#no_partisan |

```

```

      1 1 | .769101 .5086652 1.51 0.131 -.2289112
> 1.767113
      |
      age | -.0002009 .0093601 -0.02 0.983 -.0185656
> .0181637
      women | -.0739255 .2116476 -0.35 0.727 -.4891827
> .3413316
      se_gw | .0188549 .0228443 0.83 0.409 -.0259661
> .0636759
      urb | .1116077 .2219659 0.50 0.615 -.3238942
> .5471095
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | 1.547462 .2736616 5.65 0.000 1.010532
> 2.084392
      Igbo | .3248806 .313824 1.04 0.301 -.2908488
> .9406101
      Yoruba | .8515238 .2984555 2.85 0.004 .2659476
> 1.4371
      |
      educated | -.8370463 .2240651 -3.74 0.000 -1.276667 -
> .3974258
      _cons | 8.399538 .5261413 15.96 0.000 7.367238
> 9.431839

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
. *-----
> ---
. *** Table A12: Security concerns across incumbent-opposition divide ***
.

```

```

. // Item 1 (pre-treatment): How often does competition between political parti
> es lead to violent conflict?
. ttest sec_pretrat if no_partisan==0, by(opp_partisan)

```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

```

-----
Group |  Obs    Mean  Std. err.  Std. dev.  [95% conf. interval]
-----+-----
      0 |  545  .6036697  .0209715  .4895839  .5624747  .6448647
      1 |  536  .7276119  .0192472  .4456044  .6898026  .7654212
-----+-----
Combined | 1,081  .6651249  .0143609  .4721652  .6369465  .6933033
-----+-----
diff |      -.1239422  .0284873      -1.798389  -.0680455
-----

```

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = -4.3508
H0: diff = 0 Degrees of freedom = 1079

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0000 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0000 Pr(T > t) = 1.0000

.
// Item 2a (post-treatment, only use control group): Violence among people in
> community or village
. ttest sec_1 if no_partisan==0 & treat_both==0, by(opp_partisan)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. err.	Std. dev.	[95% conf. interval]	
0	150	.44	.0406656	.4980499	.3596442	.5203558
1	141	.4680851	.0421715	.5007593	.3847097	.5514605
Combined	291	.4536082	.0292344	.4987008	.3960698	.5111467
diff		-.0280851	.0585745		-.1433719	.0872016

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = -0.4795
H0: diff = 0 Degrees of freedom = 289

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.3160 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.6320 Pr(T > t) = 0.6840

.
// Item 2b (post-treatment, only use control group): Violence occurring durin
> g public protest/march
. ttest sec_3 if no_partisan==0 & treat_both==0, by(opp_partisan)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. err.	Std. dev.	[95% conf. interval]	
0	150	.46	.0408303	.5000671	.3793188	.5406812
1	139	.5251799	.0425088	.5011716	.441127	.6092327
Combined	289	.4913495	.0294584	.5007923	.4333685	.5493305
diff		-.0651799	.0589366		-.1811827	.050823

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = -1.1059
H0: diff = 0 Degrees of freedom = 287

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.1348 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.2697 Pr(T > t) = 0.8652

```
.
. // Item 2c (post-treatment, only use control group): Violence by political/re
> ligious extremist
. ttest sec_4 if no_partisan==0 & treat_both==0, by(opp_partisan)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. err.	Std. dev.	[95% conf. interval]	
0	149	.4697987	.0410247	.5007703	.3887288	.5508685
1	138	.4637681	.0426056	.5005022	.3795185	.5480177
Combined	287	.466899	.0295008	.4997746	.4088328	.5249651
diff		.0060305	.0591473		-.1103905	.1224516

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 0.1020
 H0: diff = 0 Degrees of freedom = 285

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.5406 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.9189 Pr(T > t) = 0.4594

```
.
. *-----
> ---
. *** Table A13: Average and conditional average treatment effects (OLS) with g
> eopolitical zone FE ***
```

```
. // Model 1
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both i.zone
```

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs =	1,793
				F(6, 1786) =	18.97
Model	1427.42249	6	237.903749	Prob > F =	0.0000
Residual	22403.5636	1,786	12.5439886	R-squared =	0.0599
				Adj R-squared =	0.0567
Total	23830.9861	1,792	13.2985413	Root MSE =	3.5417

```
-
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err. t P>|t| [95% conf. interval
> ]
```

```

1.treat_both | -.2584313 .1774094 -1.46 0.145 -.6063832 .089520
> 5
      |
      zone |
SOUTH SOUTH | -1.446906 .274708 -5.27 0.000 -1.985689 -.908122
> 9
SOUTH EAST | -.5964633 .291009 -2.05 0.041 -1.167217 -.025709
> 3
NORTH WEST | 1.242901 .2503068 4.97 0.000 .7519763 1.73382
> 6
NORTH EAST | .6457442 .2945751 2.19 0.028 .0679959 1.22349
> 2
NORTH CENTRAL | .0602178 .2898683 0.21 0.835 -.5082989 .628734
> 6
      |
      _cons | 8.653736 .2140475 40.43 0.000 8.233926 9.07354
> 6

```

```

. //Model 2
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan i.zo
> ne

```

```

Source |      SS      df    MS    Number of obs = 1,765
-----+----- F(10, 1754) = 12.86
Model | 1599.16817    10 159.916817 Prob > F    = 0.0000
Residual | 21815.4233   1,754 12.4375276 R-squared   = 0.0683
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0630
Total | 23414.5915   1,764 13.2735779 Root MSE    = 3.5267

```

```

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----

```

```

1.treat_both | -.8059759 .3658027 -2.20 0.028 -1.523431
> -.0885206
1.inc_partisan | .5868896 .4173501 1.41 0.160 -.2316664
> 1.405446
      |
treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .1747466 .5115645 0.34 0.733 -.8285938
> 1.178087
      |

```

```

    1.no_partisan | -.386251 .3600292 -1.07 0.283 -1.092382
> .3198804
    |
  treat_both#no_partisan |
    1 1 | .9404121 .441853 2.13 0.033 .0737981
> 1.807026
    |
    zone |
  SOUTH SOUTH | -1.375655 .2769226 -4.97 0.000 -1.918788
> -.8325219
    SOUTH EAST | -.5355905 .2995821 -1.79 0.074 -1.123166
> .0519852
    NORTH WEST | 1.201936 .2501483 4.80 0.000 .7113152
> 1.692556
    NORTH EAST | .659545 .2949881 2.24 0.025 .0809796
> 1.23811
    NORTH CENTRAL | .0317057 .291151 0.11 0.913 -.5393338
> .6027453
    |
    _cons | 8.698955 .3394604 25.63 0.000 8.033166
> 9.364745

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
. // Model 3
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan age
> women educated se_gw urb i.ethnicity i.zone

```

```

Source |      SS      df    MS    Number of obs = 1,744
-----+----- F(18, 1725) = 8.38
Model | 1866.20156    18 103.677865 Prob > F    = 0.0000
Residual | 21341.0685  1,725 12.3716339 R-squared   = 0.0804
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0708
Total | 23207.2701  1,743 13.3145554 Root MSE   = 3.5173

```

```

-----
-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----

```

```

    1.treat_both | -.8049391 .3687631 -2.18 0.029 -1.528209
> -.0816692
    1.inc_partisan | .4904369 .419706 1.17 0.243 -.3327493
> 1.313623
    |

```

```

treat_both#inc_partisan |
      1 1 | .1547716 .514325 0.30 0.764 -.8539947
> 1.163538
      |
      1.no_partisan | -.4757889 .3635521 -1.31 0.191 -1.188838
> .2372603
      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .937844 .4460618 2.10 0.036 .0629652
> 1.812723
      |
      age | .0049261 .008005 0.62 0.538 -.0107745
> .0206267
      women | .029989 .17372 0.17 0.863 -.3107351
> .3707131
      educated | -.4914012 .1879471 -2.61 0.009 -.8600294
> -.1227729
      se_gw | .009141 .0191791 0.48 0.634 -.0284758
> .0467578
      urb | .1839707 .1847203 1.00 0.319 -.1783287
> .5462702
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | 1.083897 .3233344 3.35 0.001 .4497281
> 1.718066
      Igbo | -.4338555 .4540551 -0.96 0.339 -1.324412
> .456701
      Yoruba | .3206531 .4058479 0.79 0.430 -.4753527
> 1.116659
      |
      zone |
      SOUTH SOUTH | -1.017756 .4335523 -2.35 0.019 -1.8681
> -.1674125
      SOUTH EAST | .1903101 .5390351 0.35 0.724 -.8669212
> 1.247541
      NORTH WEST | .3511206 .4984553 0.70 0.481 -.6265197
> 1.328761
      NORTH EAST | .4387955 .468412 0.94 0.349 -.4799198
> 1.357511
      NORTH CENTRAL | .1076814 .4196392 0.26 0.798 -.7153738
> .9307366
      |
      _cons | 8.398325 .599713 14.00 0.000 7.222084
> 9.574566

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

. *-----
> ---
. *** Table A14: Average and conditional average treatment effects (OLS), contr
> olling for non-election related violence ***

```

```

. // Model 1:
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan age
> women educated se_gw urb i.ethnicity lga_non_election_vio

```

```

Source |      SS      df    MS    Number of obs =   1,744
-----+----- F(14, 1729) =   9.35
Model | 1632.61246    14 116.615175 Prob > F   = 0.0000
Residual | 21574.6576  1,729 12.4781131 R-squared  = 0.0703
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0628
Total | 23207.2701  1,743 13.3145554 Root MSE   = 3.5324

```

```

-----
-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t   P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----

```

```

1.treat_both | -.8190441 .3699903 -2.21 0.027 -1.54472
> -.0933684
1.inc_partisan | .5553344 .4218639 1.32 0.188 -.2720828
> 1.382752

```

```

|
treat_both#inc_partisan |
1 1 | .1821632 .5156432 0.35 0.724 -.8291868
> 1.193513

```

```

|
1.no_partisan | -.5602044 .3645582 -1.54 0.125 -1.275226
> .1548171

```

```

|
treat_both#no_partisan |
1 1 | .9559691 .4473201 2.14 0.033 .0786236
> 1.833315

```

```

|
age | .0043956 .0080178 0.55 0.584 -.0113301
> .0201212

```

```

women | .03773 .1742522 0.22 0.829 -.3040373
> .3794973

```

```

educated | -.610478 .1854561 -3.29 0.001 -.9742199
> -.2467362

```

```

se_gw | .0144779 .0193479 0.75 0.454 -.0234698
> .0524256

```

```

        urb | .1587749 .1851894 0.86 0.391 -.2044439
> .5219936
    |
    ethnicity |
        Hausa | 1.570098 .226149 6.94 0.000 1.126543
> 2.013652
        Igbo | -.2110654 .2636817 -0.80 0.424 -.7282341
> .3061034
        Yoruba | .4561167 .2492147 1.83 0.067 -.0326773
> .9449107
    |
    lga_non_election_vio | -.034571 .0155706 -2.22 0.027 -.0651101
> -.0040318
        _cons | 8.359841 .4836433 17.29 0.000 7.411254
> 9.308429

```

```

.
. // Model 2:
. reg y_add_5 i.treat_both##i.inc_partisan i.treat_both##i.no_partisan age
> women educated se_gw urb i.ethnicity state_non_election_vio

```

```

Source |   SS      df    MS  Number of obs = 1,744
-----+----- F(14, 1729) = 9.72
Model | 1693.7719   14 120.983707 Prob>F   = 0.0000
Residual | 21513.4982 1,729 12.4427404 R-squared = 0.0730
-----+----- Adj R-squared = 0.0655
Total | 23207.2701 1,743 13.3145554 Root MSE   = 3.5274

```

```

-----
y_add_5 | Coefficient Std. err.   t  P>|t|   [95% conf.
> interval]
-----+-----
-----
    1.treat_both | -.8084515 .3694962 -2.19 0.029 -1.533158
> -.083745
    1.inc_partisan | .6148736 .4220804 1.46 0.145 -.2129684
> 1.442716
    |
    treat_both#inc_partisan |
        1 1 | .1767536 .5148685 0.34 0.731 -.833077
> 1.186584
    |
        1.no_partisan | -.5703933 .36406 -1.57 0.117 -1.284438
> .143651

```

```

      |
treat_both#no_partisan |
      1 1 | .9474377 .4466948 2.12 0.034 .0713187
> 1.823557
      |
      age | .0050091 .0080083 0.63 0.532 -.0106977
> .020716
      women | .0393546 .1740013 0.23 0.821 -.3019206
> .3806299
      educated | -.6363712 .1854532 -3.43 0.001 -1.000107
> -.272635
      se_gw | .0185122 .0194012 0.95 0.340 -.0195401
> .0565646
      urb | .1894544 .1829249 1.04 0.300 -.169323
> .5482318
      |
      ethnicity |
      Hausa | 1.492242 .2284653 6.53 0.000 1.044144
> 1.940339
      Igbo | -.2851763 .2654187 -1.07 0.283 -.8057518
> .2353992
      Yoruba | .3453411 .2538138 1.36 0.174 -.1524734
> .8431556
      |
state_non_election_vio | -.0045504 .0014492 -3.14 0.002 -.0073927
> -.001708
      _cons | 8.443589 .4841841 17.44 0.000 7.493941
> 9.393237
-----
-----
.
. *-----
> ---
. * Section: "Discussion and external validity"
. *-----
> ---
. clear

. use "ADHF_CPS_validation.dta"

. *use "/Users/annde156/Dropbox/Post-PHD/01 Electoral violence project/Research
> /Nigeria_experiment_HFAD/Survey_data/HFAD_Analysis/CPS replication/ADHF_CPS_v
> alidation.dta"

.
. *** Table 2: Election violence and non-democratic attitudes: cross-national e
> vidence ***

```

```
.
. // Model 1
. logit autocrat i.incumbent_partisan##i.violent i.no_partisan##i.violent male
> poverty education urban age, cl(ccode)
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -45265.995
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -44787.354
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -44781.344
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -44781.296
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -44781.296
```

```
Logistic regression                Number of obs = 68,279
                                Wald chi2(10) = 123.28
                                Prob > chi2  = 0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -44781.296    Pseudo R2   = 0.0107
```

(Std. err. adjusted for 28 clust

```
> ers in ccode)
```

```
-----
-----
                |      Robust
autocrat | Coefficient std. err.   z   P>|z|   [95% co
> n
> f. interval]
-----+-----
1.incumbent_partisan | .2679294 .0976534   2.74 0.006   .076532
> 2
> .4593266
1.violent | -.3621203 .1652116  -2.19 0.028  -.68592
> 9
> -.0383115
                |
incumbent_partisan#violent |
1 1 | .1226302 .1521125   0.81 0.420  -.175504
> 7
> .4207652
                |
1.no_partisan | .0491512 .0950718   0.52 0.605  -.137186
> 2
> .2354885
                |
no_partisan#violent |
1 1 | .2125505 .1289435   1.65 0.099  -.040174
> 2
> .4652752
                |
```

```

          male | -.1415939 .0254934 -5.55 0.000  -.191560
> 1
> -.0916278
          poverty | .0829959 .0356674  2.33 0.020  .013089
> 1
> .1529027
          education | -.0264049 .0156312  -1.69 0.091  -.057041
> 4
> .0042316
          urban | -.1531603 .050348  -3.04 0.002  -.251840
> 6
> -.05448
          age | -.0046565 .0014341  -3.25 0.001  -.007467
> 4
> -.0018457
          _cons | -.2264952 .0984709  -2.30 0.021  -.419494
> 6
> -.0334958

```

```

-----
-----

```

```

.
. // Model 2
. logit autocrat i.incumbent_partisan###i.violent i.no_partisan###i.violent male
> poverty education urban age if democracy==0, cl(ccode)

```

```

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -22833.238
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -22516.923
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -22512.639
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -22512.576
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -22512.576

```

```

Logistic regression              Number of obs = 33,669
                                Wald chi2(10) = 69.35
                                Prob > chi2  = 0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -22512.576      Pseudo R2   = 0.0140

```

```

                                (Std. err. adjusted for 17 clust
> ers in ccode)

```

```

-----
-----
          |          Robust
          | autocrat | Coefficient std. err.   z  P>|z|   [95% co
> n
> f. interval]
-----+-----
-----

```

```

1.incumbent_partisan | .3894779 .1756214 2.22 0.027 .045266
> 3
> .7336896
1.violent | -.3838168 .2916501 -1.32 0.188 -.955440
> 5
> .1878069
|
incumbent_partisan#violent |
1 1 | .0708623 .245028 0.29 0.772 -.409383
> 7
> .5511082
|
1.no_partisan | .2058978 .1380275 1.49 0.136 -.064631
> 2
> .4764267
|
no_partisan#violent |
1 1 | .0478475 .1994618 0.24 0.810 -.343090
> 5
> .4387854
|
male | -.1588775 .0384689 -4.13 0.000 -.234275
> 2
> -.0834798
poverty | .0039972 .0366271 0.11 0.913 -.067790
> 6
> .075785
education | -.0309899 .0337539 -0.92 0.359 -.097146
> 3
> .0351666
urban | -.1708634 .0729839 -2.34 0.019 -.313909
> 1
> -.0278177
age | -.0035851 .0019852 -1.81 0.071 -.007476
> 1
> .0003059
_cons | -.0504566 .1808557 -0.28 0.780 -.404927
> 2
> .3040141

```

```

-----
-----
.
. // Model 3
. logit autocrat i.incumbent_partisan###i.violent i.no_partisan###i.violent male
> poverty education urban age if democracy==1, cl(ccode)

```

```

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -22250.363
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -22043.651
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -22039.57
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -22039.522
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -22039.522

```

```

Logistic regression          Number of obs = 34,610
                          Wald chi2(10) = 224.53
                          Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -22039.522      Pseudo R2 = 0.0095

```

(Std. err. adjusted for 16 clust

> ers in ccode)

```

-----
-----
               |      Robust
          autocrat | Coefficient std. err.   z   P>|z|   [95% co
> n
> f. interval]
-----+-----
-----
      1.incumbent_partisan | .0867394 .0713863   1.22  0.224   -.053175
> 3
> .226654
      1.violent | -.3504111 .1538743  -2.28  0.023   -.651999
> 2
> -.048823
               |
incumbent_partisan#violent |
      1 1 | .1376684 .1636691   0.84  0.400   -.183117
> 1
> .4584539
               |
      1.no_partisan | -.0872988 .1051525  -0.83  0.406   -.29339
> 4
> .1187963
               |
no_partisan#violent |
      1 1 | .3481723 .1368039   2.55  0.011   .080041
> 7
> .616303
               |
      male | -.1152307 .027679  -4.16  0.000   -.169480
> 7
> -.0609808
      poverty | .1285127 .0453054   2.84  0.005   .039715
> 7

```

```
> .2173096
      education | -0.0298837 .0116911 -2.56 0.011 -.052797
> 8
> -.0069696
      urban | -.1019939 .0532105 -1.92 0.055 -.206284
> 6
> .0022968
      age | -.0053309 .0016439 -3.24 0.001 -.008552
> 8
> -.0021089
      _cons | -.3352257 .0985172 -3.40 0.001 -.528315
> 9
> -.1421355
```

```
-----
-----
```

```
.
.*-----
. log close
  name: <unnamed>
  log: ADHF_CPS_replication_logfile.smcl
  log type: smcl
  closed on: 14 Apr 2023, 09:46:09
```

```
-----
```